

Message Text

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FOR U.S. DEL ATHERTON

C O R R E C T E D COPY(LINE 4 PARA 3 OMITTED)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, IS, US

SUBJECT: YOUR MEETINGS WITH BEGIN AND DAYAN

GETTING INTO THE WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUE WITH DAYAN SATURDAY
NIGHT, WITH DIFFICULT CABINET MEETING SCHEDULED FOR NEXT
MORNING. IF YOU AGREE, THEREFORE, WE SUGGEST YOUR MEETINGS
WITH DAYAN, AND ON SUNDAY WITH BEGIN, CONCENTRATE ON THE
DECLARATION AND THE 242-WITHDRAWAL ISSUES, WHICH SHOULD
MAKE A PRETTY FULL AGENDA WITH THE EGYPTIAN DRAFT IN HAND.

2. OUR TENTATIVE THINKING IS THAT AFTER AN OPPORTUNITY TO
TALK TO HUSSEIN AND THE SAUDIS, YOU MAY BE ABLE TO ELICIT
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SOME EGYPTIAN THINKING ON WEST BANK/GAZA BEFORE RAISING
WITH ISRAELIS, ALTHOUGH YOU WOULD THEN HAVE VERY LIMITED
TIME TO DEVELOP THE WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUE WITH ISRAELIS
BEFORE BEGIN VISIT. ALTERNATIVE MIGHT BE TO HAVE THAT
PRIVATE SESSION WITH DAYAN, DISCUSSED WHEN DAYAN WAS HERE,
ON YOUR NEXT VISIT TO JERUSALEM AND USE THAT TO OPEN UP
THE WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUE. WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR THOUGHTS.

3. YOU WILL HAVE BEFORE YOUR MEETINGS WITH DAYAN AND BEGIN OUR RESEARCH STUDY ON BEGIN VIEWS OF 242 (STATE 47405) AND HISTORY OF 242 (BEING SENT SEPTEL), AS WELL AS SUMMARY OF LATEST DRAFT OF STRATEGY PAPER IS SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY. AS YOU WILL SEE, WE SHARE YOUR JUDGMENT THAT DECLARATION PROBLEM IS NARROWING DOWN TO WITHDRAWAL PROVISIONS OF 242 AND WE EXPECT THIS TO BE CENTRAL TO DISCUSSIONS DURING BEGIN'S VISIT. (REPORT OF YOUR FIRST MEETING WITH KAMEL (CAIRO 5906) AND OF EGYPTIAN REACTION ON WITHDRAWAL ISSUE SEEMS TO CONFIRM JUDGMENT OF CENTRALITY OF WITHDRAWAL ISSUE.) WE HOPE YOU WILL FIND OPPORTUNITY, AS IN YOUR JUDGMENT CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANT, TO CONTINUE TO PRESS BEGIN AND DAYAN ON THIS ISSUE. YOU SHOULD DRAW ON MATERIAL WE HAVE SENT AS YOU SEE FIT.

4. WE FEEL THAT YOU HAVE DONE A SUPERB JOB OF HANDLING 242 ISSUE WITH BEGIN AND DAYAN IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS AND SHOULD CONTINUE ON SAME LINES. WHILE LEAVING TO YOU STRATEGY OF ARGUMENTATION IN NEXT DISCUSSION, WE DO HAVE SEVERAL SUGGESTIONS YOU MAY WANT TO CONSIDER:

-- WE BELIEVE OUR DOCUMENTATION PROVIDES STRONG BASIS FOR QUESTIONING WHETHER BEGIN GOVERNMENT, IN INTERPRETING 242, IS FAILING TO HONOR COMMITMENTS OF PREVIOUS ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS. IF SO, THIS WOULD HAVE SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS
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RE OTHER UNDERTAKINGS BETWEEN U.S. AND ISRAEL OF PAST GOVERNMENTS ON BOTH SIDES. WE DO NOT WANT TO CONFRONT ISRAELIS ON THIS ONE AT THIS TIME, BUT SUGGEST YOU MIGHT FIND A DELICATE WAY OF AT LEAST PLANTING THE IDEA IN THEIR MINDS.

-- WE NOTE REPORT OF DAYAN STATEMENT (TEL AVIV 2498) TO KNESSET FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ON FEBRUARY 22 THAT ISRAEL WOULD HAVE GIVEN SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO ARAB PROPOSAL FOR DIVISION OF WEST BANK. IT WOULD SEEM, IN LOGIC, A SMALL STEP FROM THERE TO ACCEPTING WITHDRAWAL PROVISIONS OF 242, SINCE EGYPTIANS CONCEDE NECESSITY TO NEGOTIATE BORDER MODIFICATIONS. ALTHOUGH WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE STEP IS A GOOD DEAL MORE THAN LOGICAL FOR ISRAEL, IT MIGHT BE WORTH PRESSING DAYAN ON THIS POINT.

-- REGARDING ISRAELI DESIRE FOR RESUMPTION OF FORMAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE TALKS AND CONCERN WITH PRESENT ASYMMETRY, YOU COULD POINT OUT THAT IT MAY BE DIFFICULT TO INSIST EGYPTIANS SHOULD RESUME POLITICAL COMMITTEE TALKS, WHICH WERE SUPPOSED TO BE BASED ON ACCEPTANCE OF 242, SO LONG AS FULL ISRAELI ACCEPTANCE OF 242 IS IN

DOUBT. (BY CONTRAST, ISSUE DOES NOT ARISE IN MILITARY COMMITTEE TALKS, WHERE ISRAEL HAS CLEARLY ACCEPTED EGYPTIAN SOVEREIGNTY.)

-- MORE GENERALLY, IT SEEMS TO US THAT ISRAELI PROPOSALS

IN BEGIN MEETING (CAIRO 5743) ARE SIMPLY ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF TRYING TO CLOAK SERIOUS SUBSTANTIVE DISAGREEMENT IN FORM OF WORDS THAT AVOID ISSUE, E.G., YADIN PROPOSAL THAT ARABS COULD ANNOUNCE THEIR INTERPRETATION OF 242 WITHOUT ISRAELI AGREEMENT. IT MAY BE WORTH MAKING THE POINT THAT PROBLEM FOR ALL OF US, IF NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BE MEANINGFUL, IS NOT CONCEALING THE DIFFERENCE BUT RESOLVING IT. ASSUME YOU AGREE THAT EGYPTIANS WILL NOT
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SETTLE FOR LESS THAN ISRAELI ACCEPTANCE OF WITHDRAWAL PRINCIPLE, AND ARE NOT INTERESTED IN SEMANTIC SUBTERFUGE.

5. YOU WILL HAVE MUCH BETTER SENSE THAN WE OF HOW TO HANDLE DISCUSSION OF THE DECLARATION, BUT IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THIS SUBJECT, TOO, WILL LEAD BACK ALMOST IMMEDIATELY TO THE WITHDRAWAL ISSUE AND 242. SINCE IT SEEMS PRETTY CERTAIN THAT YOU ARE NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO RESOLVE THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES OF THE DECLARATION WITH THE ISRAELIS DURING THIS TRIP, ASSUME YOU WILL AGREE THAT A MAIN PURPOSE NOW IS TO BEGIN IMPRESSING ON THEM THAT THESE ISSUES WILL HAVE TO BE CONFRONTED AND RESOLVED WHEN BEGIN IS IN WASHINGTON. VANCE

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